846 and demons; on the other hand it also aims at inducing the father to identify himself intimately with the child. Obviously the women, for whom these customs do not provide the least amount of consideration, quickly lose their earlier beauty and after a few years, they wilt and become horridly ugly.

●594 The marriage of the Cayapa is most harmonious. They do not
[595 have polygamy or polyandry, and adultery never occurs or only
837] [287] very rarely. Women or girls who have relationships with
[689] white or black men or those of any other race, are killed without pity. In fact they are even forbidden to enter into innocent conversation with such men under threat of severe penalty. If one of the spouses dies, they do not remarry, remaining faithful to the
[764] dead. The dead are only buried when the corpse is already in a state of decomposition and when the pestilent smell has become unbearable.

574 While the villagers and inhabitants of other races in these parts
648 are very hospitable and will always offer hospitality to travelers, no matter how poor they are, even without expecting any remuneration, the Cayapa are an exception to this rule. They fear strangers on account of their women, who are not always safe from them; but most particularly they hate the Negroes who have repeatedly attacked their women forcibly. For this reason it is not easy to obtain shelter in Cayapa villages. As they have frequently also been robbed and mistreated by Negroes, they leave their huts as soon as a Negro settles in the neighborhood, and keep on withdrawing further inland. Thus they have already completely disappeared from the banks of the Santiago River and the lower course of the Cayapa River.

135 There still is a lot of gold in their region, as indeed there are
316 small layers of alluvial gold in all these rivers. But these Indians, with the exception of a few, more modern minded, and the renegades, do not collect it, nor do they wear gold ornaments. On the
[301] other hand none of them would tell a stranger where the yellow metal could be found, even if he were offered a fortune for his secret. From the Cayapa point of view gold is an accursed thing, which brought the white and the black devils into the country and was responsible for their being pushed back into the interior and
[648] robbed of their dominion. The Negroes, however, are their sworn enemies because they have too often had to suffer bitter injustice from them.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Gayapa SD6

291
142
302
301
594

A FAMILY GROUP

PLATE XXIII GAYAPA INDIANS

857
855

child being cared for can walk, it may be dragged along by one hand at a much too rapid pace, and it drags rather than runs behind. If the parents should see this the older girl is reprimanded and occasionally slapped.

883
[881]

Adolescence. There are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty. At adolescence the boy is not considered to be ready to assume the responsibility of adulthood. His training is much more protracted than that of the girls. For example, he must attain skill in canoe workmanship, and this may not be fully achieved until late teen age. He may be given a piece of land of his own to work, but even so, he must help his parents in their work, on demand. The criteria used to determine a boy's readiness for marriage are the following: he must be skillful in cutting his own canoe; he must acquire sufficient land to support a family; he should own a shotgun. The young man himself is often reluctant to assume new responsibilities despite the expectations of his adult associates. This will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with Sex, Courtship, and Marriage.

[868]

[594]

[581]

ties are often very tender. On one occasion while the writer was treating a man for a fever his married sister came in and knelt beside him. She put her mouth close to his ear and whispered to him while she gently stroked his back. It is said that brothers should work together on all things, that they should inherit and work land together.

Parent-child relationships are affectionate and close. Both parents play with their children and indulge them. Often children were brought in to the writer for an injection of penicillin. In these cases if the child cried and stated emphatically that he did not want it, the parents would not insist. Generally boy and girl children are treated much the same in play behavior with the parents and other siblings with one exception. Boy children, up to about the third or fourth year, are often held up at arms-length above the head of the older person who then lowers the child slowly. When the child is within reach, the older person then places his mouth over the child's genitals for a few seconds. This game is never played with girl children.

While husband and wife relationships tend to be affectionate, the woman is often in a near dominant

position. She generally controls the finances and is consulted before any major purchase is made. If a large sale is made--for example, that of a canoe--she is on hand to count the money. During fiestas she doles out the money to her husband for rum purchases. It is not at all unusual to see a man, already quite drunk, whine, wheedle, threaten, curse, and coax his wife for a few coins. He usually gets it, but ever so begrudgingly. A man and his wife work the fields together and she is adept in the use of a machete. They seem to be in agreement on most things that involve the house and their children. When a child is punished he never seeks aid and comfort from the other parent. Children were never seen playing one parent off against the other. It is doubtful whether this would ever occur to a child. Similarly, parents do not use their children as foils for their own individual advantages.

If grandparents are residing in the home, they are treated with respect by their children and grandchildren. The grandchildren often call them 'father' and 'mother.' Unless they are bedridden, the grandparents do a full share of work, and they continue working until

592
596
603
[861]
[857]

the last. The grandmother will often remain behind taking care of the young children while the parents are out working. She may punish the children either by admonition or by slapping them. Generally, there seems to be more roughhouse behavior among the children of the household when the grandparent(s) are present than when are just the parents.

592

When the in-laws and/or other relatives are resident in the house the same atmosphere tends to prevail. Each nuclear family occupies a section of the house. Sometimes a cubicle is built for sleeping and storing purposes. Meals are prepared separately and consumed individually. No one eats together as a group. The men are served first. One may be in a hammock, another seated on a bench, yet another may be standing off by himself at the front of the house watching the river. They eat where they are. The women and children eat after the men have eaten. They tend to form more of a group because of the proximity of the cooking area and they converse more together while they are eating than the men do.

[594]
[513]
[353]
592
264
562

592
606

Newcomers to the household group such as a new son or daughter-in-law, tend to be shy and quiet. In

time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

592
606

[594
476
241]

[607
476]

Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

592
602

Compadrazgo. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institution

608
177
795

156
582
627

marry her. In 1960 he seemed happy with his wife, especially since she gave birth to a boy, and since his marriage he apparently has stayed close to home.

It may be that the choice of a crippled wife for Chapiro was deliberate and with malice aforethought. Chapiro's reputation, however, extended beyond the sexual sphere, and he was known to be lazy and a poor worker. [illegible]omen would have refused him as a husband anyway. What is important, however, is the fact that the solution worked, and that Chapiro was effectively removed from circulation. It should be mentioned for the record that when he was queried about Chapiro's wife, Lorenzo Añapa reported, with what appeared to the writer to be no small measure of satisfaction, "She can't work very well in the fields because of her bad leg."

[581]

584

For the Cayapa, marriages are not all made in heaven, and many times legal difficulties both attend and follow a marriage. The parents of Chapiro's bride did not object to her marriage at all; however, as women are economically useful, some families that lack one or another of the parents attempt to keep the

[594]

4 Altschuler E-9 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

girl at home as long as possible. This may lead to disputes and hard feelings.

584
594

Carmelina, a crippled girl, is taken by a marriage commission over the protests of her mother. The late chief, Arcilio, had a sister's daughter named Carmelina who was crippled in one leg. She lived with her mother and younger brother, near Playa Grande. One night a commission of two Negroes and two Indians came to take the girl to Alipio Cimarrón who also lived near Playa Grande. First, the two Indians came into the house leaving the two Negroes in the canoe. They spoke with the mother, but she did not want the girl to get married "as she was badly crippled." The two Indians pointed out that they had two Negroes with them, but the mother was adamant. The Indians then called in the Negroes who were named José Isidro and Añano Vallejo, both of Playa Grande. The four men came into the house and removed the girl by force. She fell outside of the house and began to cry, but they picked her up and placed her in the canoe, still crying. All the while, the mother kept shouting at the men, but the girl's brother remained silent, as he had been

584
684 x

[177]

581
584
[594]
[732]

brother did not give him any advantage. The reluctance of some families to part peacefully with their unmarried female members stems in part from economic factors. Even though Carmelina was crippled, she was still of great assistance to her mother. Similarly, Alipio hoped to realize some profit from his sister's handiwork before permitting her to marry. As Carmelina's mother did not object to her daughter's marriage to the man from the Río Onzole, it can be assumed that he was more desirable as a son-in-law than either Alipio or his brother. She probably realized that she would not be able to prevent her daughter from leaving home much longer since the girl had made it clear, after her brief sojourn with Alipio, that she wanted a man--any man.

584

The marriage commission as a device for arranging marriages is apparently very common although it is not always eufunctional. Quite often more problems are raised than are settled by the commission's attempt at match-making as witnessed in the following case.